[The classification of various types of data by political districts within the main Papago reservation has been marked for category 634.]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the present day many ceremonies that have been discarded by the Gila Pima and only vaguely hinted at by the vanishing Lower Pima or the Catholicized Tarahumara.

Rather we should say that *some* of them have retained *some* ceremonies, for the Papago are by no means a homogeneous group. Geographically they are divided into four main sections, each with a different dialect and, perhaps, having different biological elements in its population. These groups have been described in my previous volume,[1] but for convenience in following the ceremonies, they are listed briefly here.

Northern Papago (nicknamed *totokuanyi*, loose G string), sometimes called "Archie people," from the name of their head village. Residents of this large and important division speak of themselves as the true Desert People, the first settlers of the country. They are in intimate communication with the Pima, and this same communication was going on even in Kino's day. Their language is closer to Pima than it is to southern Papago and in fact forms one dialect group with Pima and *kuhatk*. Because of the rapid acculturation of the last two, it is hard to tell whether ceremonial customs were shared also.

Quajote (Papago, *kuhatk*, translated "dried and burnt," or "bowl," alluding to the topography). This division is in close contact with Pima country, and for practical purposes is to be considered part of it. The dialects are identical, and the residents, though claiming the name "desert people," have intermarried largely with the Pima and, like them, have adopted white ways. They figure very little in this study.

Western Papago (nicknamed *huhura*, or *huhula*, orphans). These Indians inhabit the inhospitable desert country, the nickname of its residents indicating that they had no good water and could not build permanent villages. The inhabitants are spoken of by other divisions as sorcerers, a sure sign of strangeness, and their dialect is recognizably different. From an ethnological point of view, the north-and-south line dividing these people from the two just mentioned, is more important than the political boundary between Papago and Pima.

Southern Papago (nicknamed *kokororoti*, or *kokololoti*, from Tecolote, one of their villages). If *kuhatk* belongs practically with the Pima, this division aligns with Mexico. Its people camp and run cattle on

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 59–69.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

both sides of the border, or they did until a recent boundary fence was erected. Their dialect shows many traces of Spanish, both in pronunciation and vocabulary. They are nominally Christians, and their government is of the style standardized by Spain for Mexican villages. They have abandoned most of the old ceremonies and customs and have been so harassed during the Mexican wars that their village, clan, and moiety affiliations have been largely broken up. As compensation, they shared earlier than the other groups in Spanish civilization. They were the first to use wheat, horses, and cattle, and they now include some incipient capitalists.

In a general study, it might be possible to include the Gila Pima, called by the Papago the "River People" as another division. We shall speak of them and the Papago together as Pimans, for the separation of the two groups, with their distinct names, is a recent development, due largely to reservation geography. However Pima ceremonies, today, are almost nonexistent. The Pima have been subject to white influence for almost one hundred years and, even when Russell visited them in 1901–2, he found only fragments of ritual practice. Nevertheless, such songs and speeches as he recorded, reveal striking likenesses to the material presented here.

True, there were some ceremonies which the Pima never had, such as the salt pilgrimage and the rituals for local shrines. Yet most others have left their traces. Sometimes a single song, roughly classed as "medicine" or "festal," has the very words of a Papago song that forms an integral part of some long ritual. Elements of a curing practice which Russell could not explain, appear to be fragments of the prayerstick festival that had been retained for curing, though abandoned as a public performance. These similarities have been noted in their suitable order. They give the impression that Pima ceremonial life strongly resembled that of the northern Papago. It may not have differed from that of the other divisions any more than they differed from each other.

Papago and Pima both are divided into moieties, known usually as Red Ants and White Ants among the Pima, Buzzard and Coyote among the Papago. These sometimes have minor functions in ceremony, such as painting the dancers but they do not conduct ceremonies nor possess rituals. The same is true of the four sibs or clans,

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

FOREWORD

The American Papago are found on three reservations, a large one and two small ones, in the southern part of Arizona, near the Mexican border. To the south are the Mexican Papago who live in the same villages with Mexicans and have largely intermixed with them. To the north are the Gila Pima, another branch of the same people who have had much more contact with White Americans than have the Papago. To the west and south are the small groups of Sand Papago, still largely unknown.

American Papago, Mexican Papago and Pima were once part of a large corn raising culture which included the Opata, Tepecano, Tepehuane, and other Sonoran peoples now extinct. The nature of their culture has been a matter of great interest as a link between Mexico and the cultures of the Southwest. The Papago were chosen for study because, though they were not so advanced as their congeners, their position in the desert has left them far less subject to White influence. Their reservation was set apart only in 1917 and they still retain many customs and ceremonies abandoned both by Pima and by Mexican Papago.

Five sojourns were made with the Papago: in June — October 1931, September — October 1932, February — October 1933, November — January 1934, October — November 1935. Most of the time was spent on the Sells reservation, the largest of the three though a few weeks were spent at San Xavier and some days below the Mexican border.

Even among the American Papago it was found that there were decided differences in dialect, customs and ceremonies and an effort was made to get data from each of the three important groups. One of these was often completely ignorant of traditions known to the others, so that it was no uncommon experience to have an informant in one village deny with amusement the possibility of some practise which those in the next village acknowledged as traditional. Since there are over 5000 Papago it was possible to get many points of view and their presence makes one realize how many shadings are found in a living culture which are lost or even distorted in those where only one or two informants are available.

Interpreters were used through the whole period, since I did not trust my rough conversational knowledge of the language

2:Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

LOCATION AND HISTORY

Location

Pa Pi The Papago are to be found on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, adjoining Mexico. Their country was under 101 131 Mexican rule until the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 and, with that of the Gila Pima, it once bore the Spanish name of Pimeria Alta (Upper Pimeria). All its inhabitants were known as Pimas by the Spanish and by themselves as o'otam. They consider themselves Pa one people, though they distinguish River People now called by the Pi Whites Pimas, and Desert People, called Papago. For convenience [128] we shall allude to the combined people as Pimans. Their language is the same, with minor variations, many of them due to the influence of English on the north and Spanish on the south. Migration and interchange have been so constant that statements as to habitat and history must include both groups.

The Pimans were found by the first Spaniards living where they do now though in a little wider territory. Their stretch of desert, two hundred miles long by two hundred and fifty wide, lay like a roughly shaped diamond, with its long axis along the present international boundary. It was a barren stretch, containing no streams at all, but it was roughly outlined by water courses: at the north the Gila, at the south, the little Altar, which loses itself in the sand before reaching the Gulf of California, at the east, the San Pedro flowing north to the Gila. At the west, the driest part of Pimeria, nearly uninhabited, touched the Gulf of California.

Pa The Pimans are the northernmost of an almost unbroken line of Pi Uto-Aztecan speaking peoples, stretching from the neighborhood 197 of Mexico City along the western edge of the plateau with extensions into the foothills and the plains beneath. All practised agriculture, wherever the country permitted and often irrigation also. On the plateau, at the south, were to be found such people as the Aztecs, with their intensive agriculture and complex organization; beyond, in the mountains, the Cora and Huichol, whose agriculture had, of necessity remained simple but whose ceremonies and handicraft were most elaborate. Further north came the ruder Cahita and Tarahumare and, stretching down past them, through Sonora and Durango, a group of agriculturists and irrigators comprising the Tepehuane, the Nevome or Lower Pima, the Opata, Tepecano and, at the north, extending into desert country, our subject, the Upper Pima.

[P. 1]

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa Pi 175 eating mesquite beans,[1] and mountain sheep, whose horns were piled up in a heap overtopping the houses.[2] To the present day, among old fashioned Pimans, deer horns are piled in a special place as a mark of respect to the deer. They built for Kino a house of mats, like those of the Sóba Jípuris but the soldiers of his escort were entertained in a house of poles covered with reeds which was apparently the usual dwelling.[3]

Between the Gila and the Altar stretched two hundred miles of desert whose full length Kino traversed only twice. Here lived those Pimas who, at present, bear the name of Papago. Kino heard of them from the Gila Pimas who gave him guides, but the Desert People must have been in constant communication with the River People for, on the missionary's arrival they were prepared with the customary arches and crosses "although never in that village (kuhatk) nor in others of this vicinity and coast, had there entered another white face or Spaniard."[4] They were also in communication with the Sóba Jípuris of the San Pedro for they had just been down to help them in a fight against the Apache.[5] Kino noted that these people had abundant crops of maize, calabashes, beans and the unexplained melones.[6] He baptized the children and his official escort gave eight canes of office, a governor and three subsidiary officers to one village and a governor each to four more.[7] On two other occasions Kino dashed through the desert country, once giving a few more badges of office, once baptising and inquiring for the sick. He gives us the names of village sites but otherwise it is on Manje and the later recorders that we must rely for information about the Papago of the seventeenth century.

● Pa Pi 175 ● 101 The villages are, at the present day, almost where Kino found them and they still bear the nickname bestowed by their neighbors, pápavi ó'otam, Bean People. Papago final syllables are whispered, so the Spaniards heard only pápav ót. In the succeeding centuries, they rendered it Papabotes, Papalotes, Papagotas, and finally settled down to Papagos.

Pa Pi 175 The bean referred to was the aboriginal bean of the Southwest, now called tepary which is more heat and drought resistant even than maize and which, in dry summers, was the only possible crop. Manje mentions it at Sonoita, where there was permanent water and where he may have been justified in attributing the bean eating to laziness rather than hard weather conditions.

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[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 373.
[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 372.
[3] Bolton, 1936, p. 373.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 397.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.
[6] Bolton, 1936, pp. 396—401.
[7] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1939 NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

In the same way the majority of the Pueblos are left outside our area on the east. Here we must make a sharp distinction between eastern and western Pueblos. The western ones, particularly Hopi, show signs of an old stratum of Basin traits, overlaid with those of a more complex culture. It would be possible to picture the Hopi as once having been semi-nomadic desert people like the Paiute, Papago and Tarahumare and we might attribute to such a stage some of the basic likenesses found among all the group. The striking identities in ceremony which appear now and then between Pimans and Hopi have not such a wide distribution and must date from a later period of contact after the western Pueblos had evolved their complex ceremonial organization.

This picture of diffusion leaves no place for the southern Athapascans who were also neighbors on the east but enemies and intruders. We have stated that most likenesses between them and the Pimans can be traced through the Pueblos with whom both had contact and this is the case with every point but one — that of dream power. This trait Pimans and Athapascans share with a wide area extending both east and west, through the Plains, the Basin and California. The Pueblos are not included. To the east, in the Plains, power comes in a vision, obtained through ordeal. To the west through Basin, Plateau and California, it comes in a dream during natural sleep. As we enter the plateau it becomes more and more the privilege of shamans. Papago and Jicarilla Apache are amazingly alike in their conception of the dream as coming to any one, in natural sleep and in the form of an animal guardian. In noting this likeness of the Papago with the Plains in general and with the Apache in particular, we should not omit to glance even further eastward, and acknowledge the sometimes surprising resemblances of this southwestern group with tribes like the southern Sioux. On such points as the animal guardian spirit, fear of the menstruant, sib names for individuals, Papago affiliations are quite as much with the east as with the west.

Omiting these remote considerations, we might tentatively plot the culture area in which the Papago find their place. Such an area would cut through the Colorado Plateau, leaving Hopi and Zuni within its periphery. It would have a wide northern fringe of Shoshoneans and would include all those of southern California. The Yumans might be admitted as a half assimilated group, highly resistant to some of the traits considered. Beyond the Yumans the outline of our area would sweep down through Sonora, with long projections extending to the south.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A PAPAGO WOMAN

FOREWORD

THE Papago Indians live on three reservations in the southwest corner of Arizona, near the Mexican border. They belong to the Piman-Sonoran language group and are, in language and descent, identical with the Pima whom they call River People, while they themselves are Desert People. Both were found by the Spaniards in the country they now occupy, which extends from the Gila River in Arizona to the Altar River in Sonora, and which once constituted the ancient Spanish province of Upper Pimeria.

The first important contact of the Whites with Pimeria was at the end of the seventeenth century when the famous missionary, explorer, and business executive, Father Kino established his chain of missions in the Altar Valley. He made a few extensions into the present Arizona, notably at San Xavier, near the present Tucson, and he also toured the whole of Pimeria, not once but many times, distributing cattle and seeds, and baptizing the people with Spanish names. It was in his day that the Papago learned to spend the rainless and hungry winters at the pleasant Altar missions, learning the eighteenth century Spanish methods of farming, which some of them practise to this day.

But the desert country did not attract Spanish colonization. After Kino's time, such Spanish traits as reached the Papago were adopted after their yearly visits to Mexico, rather than forced on them by close contact. Pimeria adhered technically to the Spanish colonial system by which the head man of each village was elected by the people and confirmed in office by the provincial governor. But the lieutenant governor, the sheriff, and the church officers who should have completed the picture, were nonexistent. Church services were a form, continued side by side with the ancient ceremonies which persisted with a vitality impossible in the subjugated provinces of Mexico.

This condition of slow acculturation persisted until the Gadsden purchase in 1853. With this change, Pimeria was cut violently in two, the new international boundary running through its lower portion, the home of the Papago, and leaving half of them in the United States and half in Mexico. It was to Mexico that the Papago felt allegiance, for their desert country was still forbidding to both miners and ranchers, and they were left to follow their old customs almost unmolested. Not so with the Pima. Their fertile land, along the Gila, was directly in the track of the gold rush, the trappers, and the Apache fighters. The Pima supplied all these travellers with grain, and early established a relationship which made for swift acculturation not to Mexican standards but to American.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter I

THE DESERT PEOPLE

000 DRIVING from Tucson to Ajo in southern Arizona, one passes through a hundred miles of the Papago Indian Reservation. It is an arid land with sparse and, to the unaccustomed eye, strange vegetation, a country of wide valleys and small rugged mountain ranges. Stopping at a trading post for gasoline, the traveler wonders where the trader's customers come from. The lone figure on horseback or the family in a wagon glimpsed along the way would hardly seem enough to justify a store. Where do the customers live, and how can they make a living? If one looks closely, he occasionally sees a shelter or a little cluster of earth-colored houses along the route. A few cattle, patient under the relentless sun, or a field green with corn and squash and beans, give a clue and may also awaken a curiosity to know how the people live and what they think about besides cattle and corn in this dry land. What kind of people are they?

THE PEOPLE

101 The Indians who live in this desert country are known to white people as the Papago. The name probably comes from that given them by their neighbors (as heard and recorded by the Spaniards): *pavi coatam*, "the Bean-eating People," or *pavi au'autam*, "the Bean People," from the tepary bean which was a staple food item. The Papago call themselves *tohono au'autam*, "the Desert People."

619 The "Papago tribe" is an administrative title only, for the Indians officially so named were a loose conglomeration of tribes all speaking the Piman language.
101 The Piman-speaking people inhabited a large area that straddles the international boundary and is known as Pimería Alta. These people themselves recognize two main divisions: the River People, who live along the Gila River in the northern part of Pimería and are designated by the government as the "Pima tribe," and the Desert People, now known as the "Papago tribe," who live south of the River People. In both the United States and Mexico there were numerous subgroups or tribes, all speaking dialects of the Piman language,

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

which belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock.[1] Among all there was a strong feeling of kinship, although the "Papago" feel themselves different from the "Pima."

The Desert People in the United States are officially consolidated into "The Papago Tribe of Arizona." About 5,900 of them live on the Papago Reservation, roughly a sixty-five-mile square lying along the southern border of Arizona between the Baboquivari Mountains on the east and the Ajo Mountains on the west, with an irregular line south of the Gila River as its northern boundary (see Map I). Others live near by on two smaller reservations: about 200 at Gila Bend to the northwest, and almost 500 at San Xavier to the east. Including a few members who live off the reservations, Papago now number close to 7,000, a large tribe which is increasing at the rate of over 1 per cent a year.

It is the Desert People, specifically those who live on the main Reservation, who are the subject of this study; they are referred to here as "the Papago" and their reservation as "the Reservation." Those herein called "the Pima" are the official "Pima tribe," who live on the Gila River and Salt River reservations to the north.

On the main Papago Reservation the people live on lonely ranches or in scattered, sprawling villages, many of which existed when the first Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, came in 1698. The village is the important unit among the Papago. It always consists of a group of related families, ranging in number from four or five to fifty or sixty household units, totaling perhaps three hundred individuals. However, there are only a few large villages: only thirty-six villages of more than fifty people on the entire Reservation. Sells, the seat of the government agency, has over one thousand inhabitants, but the number of white persons and the fact that many of the Papago families attracted there by government jobs are unrelated make this settlement atypical.

Villages are interrelated through the dialect groups. The original groups were first described by Father Kino, who thought of them as being virtually separate tribes (see chap. v). Since his time the various groups have moved to their present locations and have become officially consolidated into one tribe, but the divisions are still recognized by the Papago.

The dialect groups have recently acquired political significance. In 1936 the Reservation was divided into nine districts, roughly equivalent to the dialect groups but also determined by administrative and economic consideratons (see Map I). The outlying San Xavier and Gila Bend reservations form two additional districts. Population in the districts on the main reservation varies from 1,200 in Sells to 250 in Gu Vo, the western districts being most thinly settled.

1. There are over fifty linguistic stocks in use among Indians of the United States and Canada today, some of them as different as English and Chinese (see Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 391–400).

(4) [Text continues on p. 7]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

All too little was written by Father Kino and Manje, his military companion, about the way of life of the people they found on their journeys through Papaguería. They tell instead of how these Indians welcomed the priest with "arches and crosses" (which they had learned from Indians whom Kino had already visited) and begged for instruction and baptism. Kino does mention that these Indians had abundant food supplies of corn and beans and

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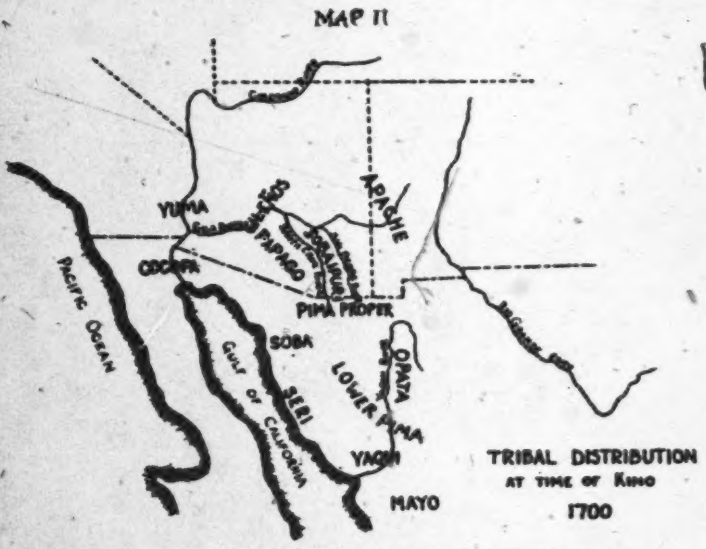


DISTRIBUTION OF PIMAN PEOPLES AND SURROUNDING TRIBES ABOUT 1700

large villages with headmen. The neighboring Sobaípuri and the Pima on the Gila River, he said, had chiefs, each of whom controlled more than one village.

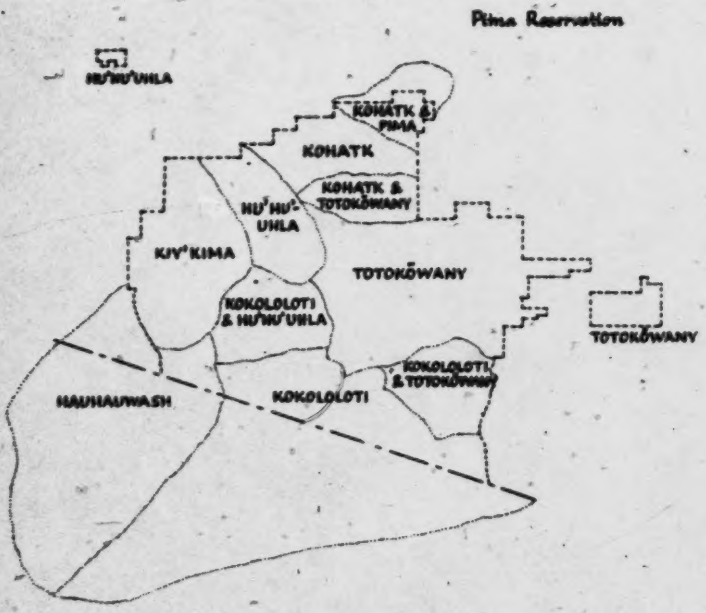
The Spaniards' trips were hurried, with little more than one-day stops at even the largest villages, during which they spoke to the people about God and the king of Spain and baptized the young children and the sick. In some places they appointed governors and other officials for the villages and gave them canes of office in the name of the king of Spain.[8] The people were friendly and helpful. They always begged Kino to come again.

8. Some people say that the Spanish at some time appointed seven governors who were under a head governor at Gu Achi, an organization which apparently was not very effective (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Code of Laws of the Papago Tribe* and *Annual Statistical Report, Sells Agency . . . 1935*, p. 35).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

name for another (*hauhauwash*). However, the following discussion of the dialect groups, and Map V, which shows their approximate distribution, are based on material given the authors by Papago, supplemented by data from Underhill[5] and the Agency.[6]

MAP V



APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECT GROUPS ON THE PAPAGO RESERVATIONS, 1943

In the south-central and southeastern areas of the Reservation are the *kokololoti*, Kino's "Pima proper," who moved north and west from their original home in what is now Mexico. According to one informant, their name means "rattling talk," but others say that the term comes from the Spanish translation (*sccolote*) of the name of one village, Chukut Kuk ("owl hoot"), transliterated by the Papago. The *kokololoti* population is about fifteen hundred.[7] It is likely

5. *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 59–69.
6. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.
7. *Ibid.*

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

197 571 634 that their present distribution is due to their dispersion into smaller settlements from defense villages at the end of the Apache wars.

This was the area of greatest Spanish influence, and some of the people speak Spanish. They learned from the missionized Indians to the south how to raise cattle and horses. They were good horsemen long before the other groups, and to this day it is said that you cannot beat one of them in a horse race. They are also said to be impulsive. The *kokololoti* were called on to help Spanish and, later, Mexican and American soldiers in pursuing the Apache and so acquired significant numbers of guns before they were common among the northern people. This early acquisition of livestock and implements, together with more abundant rainfall in parts of the area, has doubtless been at least partly responsible for the higher economic status of this region today. *Kokololoti* acculturation began earlier and has continued more steadily than that of other Papago (see chap. ii).

North of the *kokololoti* live the *totokŏwany*, who occupy a large area in the central and eastern part of the main Reservation and all the San Xavier Reservation. This group, estimated at about thirty-two hundred,[8] is perhaps the largest on the Reservation. Underhill claims the name for this group is an opprobrious nickname meaning "loose gee-string," but informants have told the writer that it describes the guttural cast of their speech. These are the "Papago" described by Kino. Of them, Underhill says: "It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie [Achi] and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, seem to have provided the channel....

[101]

"The Archie [*totokŏwany*] group was the furthest from Spanish influence and acculturation has been slower there than in the south. Few of the people speak Spanish and few over forty speak any English. They did not begin to keep cattle until long after the southerners.... They retain many of the old ceremonies abandoned elsewhere."[9]

Other Papago consider the *totokŏwany* cautious and respect them for their skill as medicine men and runners, skills which were greatly valued in the old culture. Although they pride themselves on conserving the old ways, the *totokŏwany* are not the stiff-necked intransigeants of the Reservation.

The title might properly be bestowed upon two other groups, the *kiy'kima* and the *hu'hu'uhla*, both of which are located in the northwestern corner of the Reservation, the *kiy'kima* farther west and south than the *hu'hu'uhla*. *Hu'hu'-*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 59–60.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

uhla also live on the Gila Bend Reservation. These two groups have heretofore been considered as one, and even various leading eastern Papago do not agree as to whether or not they should be differentiated. However, those who live in the area concerned informed one of the authors that there are two groups, though intermarriage has carried members of one group into the other.

These two groups together number about nine hundred[10] and are probably also part of the people whom Kino called "Papago." The word *kiy'kima* means "stuck-up" or "show-off" and is applied to these people because they are said to use the word frequently.[11] Their idiom is reported to be like that of the *totokŏwany* but spoken faster. According to Underhill, "Huhuhra means grandmother's children, i.e., orphans, and was bestowed on the people of Kaka, one village of the group, because they had no well and wandered about sharing those of other village units."[12] This author, who does not differentiate the two groups, says that the dialect contains many incomprehensible words, presumably ancient. She further says: "The legend is that these people did not 'come up from the underground' but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie [*totokŏwany*] people."[13]

Eastern Papago look on both groups as being backward, slow, and conservative. In keeping with this conservatism, they have been the center of resistance to government policy in recent years, opposing or ignoring many Agency proposals, and such recent requirements as registration for Selective Service. Many of them go to work in the mines at Ajo, but they remain insistently of and for their own groups.

The other western dialect group, which some western Papago call *hauhauwash*, numbers about four hundred people;[14] they live in the area around Menager's Dam, which was added to the southwestern corner of the Reservation in 1938. Most of this group still live west and south of the Reservation, and some only recently migrated to the Menager's Dam region. These people (probably Kino's "Soba") are known variously today as *hauhauwash*, Sand Papago, Sonoita Papago, *awatokam au'autam* ("Sand Dune People"), and *so'obakam au'autam* ("Soba Tree People").

Another small group—of about three hundred people[15]—is the *kohatk*, who occupy the area north of *hu'hu'uhla* and *totokŏwany*, centering around the village of Kohatk. Their dialect is very similar to Pima, and the two peoples

10. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

11. However, A. W. Jones, who has made a study of the dialect groups, says that *kikima* is a term used of any dialect group to which the speaker does not belong.

12. *Op. cit.*, p. 65. 13. *Ibid.*

14. *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 7.

15. *Ibid.*

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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have common cultural traits. As most of the *kohatk* group were under jurisdiction of the Pima Agency for some time before the establishment of the Papago Reservation, many have intermixed with Pima. Some people call them "Pima copycats." Traditionally the *kohatk* were the best fighters in Papaguería, and they are known today as "show-offs." Underhill has this to say of them: [101] "*Kuhatk*, meaning something dried and burnt, was spelled by the Spaniards *Quajote*.... It figures largely in the tale of conquest and it was here in the early days of settlement that the best warriors were said to live. The Bitter Man at Kuhatk was leader in battle for his own group and for Archie.

"Archie legend says that the kuhatk people moved to get better land and thus came closer to the Pima than to Archie. Certainly they were in close communication with the Pima when Kino found them.... Though they may have once felt themselves a part of the Archie group, they now speak somewhat differently and are regarded as a separate unit. Still, it is obvious that Pima, kuhatk and Archie form a group similar in dialect and customs and that later distinctions have been arbitrary."[16]

Intermingling of two dialect groups where their territories meet is now pretty generally recognized, and these mixed groups may even have their own names. In part of Pisin Mo District, *kiy'kima* and *kokololoti* have mingled. Some of the *kohatk* have mingled with the Pima to the north. On the other hand, Anegam, because it remained part of the Papago Reservation while other *kohatk* villages were under the Pima, was ceremonially connected for a long time with the near-by *totokōwany* villages of Achi and Gu Achi, but shared a well with the *hu'hu'uhla* and maintained other contacts with them. Now the people of the Anegam area are beginning to be recognized as a subdialect group. Sells, the Agency town, is a conglomeration of people from many parts of the Reservation; here another subdialect may arise.

What is happening in Baboquivari District may be indicative of the trend on the Reservation. Here two of the largest dialects, *kokololoti* and *totokōwany*, have mixed. The older people still know which dialect they speak, but the distinction is not so clear with the children; so a subdialect seems to be arising. A further mixture is resulting from intermarriage with noncontiguous groups. A man's father might be *totokōwany*, his mother *kokololoti*, and his maternal grandmother *hu'hu'uhla*. With the present-day ease of transportation, and with young Papago meeting off the Reservation in places where they work, intermarriage is likely to increase. In time, language differences may slowly disappear, or at least take on a new face. Since many Papago leaders and also the interpreters, who come from the mixed *totokōwany-kokololoti*

16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63–64.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

ranges east and south of the desert, with headquarters at Hótu-Pi nikat. They probably never numbered more than 150, and Pa in the middle of the nineteenth century were attacked by an 195 epidemic which only four families survived. These remaining families retired to other areas, and for the last sixty or seventy years the sand dune country has been practically uninhabited. Underhill[17] conjectures that these people in the sand hills were ancestors of the present very poor Sand Papago who occupy the arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, around Tinajas Altas, Tule Tanks, Papago Tanks and the vicinity of Dome. Similarly Hoover[18] writes of them occupying the forbidding arid region west of the Ajo Mountains, their very existence depending upon knowledge of natural water tanks in the mountains. Also at present several small villages of Sand Papago are located around the town of Ajo and their largest remnant is at Dome and Blaisdell. He asserts that Quitobac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita, the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village of Quitobaquito. The village of Sonoita was a favored site as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream.

Papago and Pima speak the same language, with but slight Pi variations. They are combined under one name, The People, Pa differentiating themselves as Desert People (Papago) and 197 River People (Pima), the designation of River People denoting 101 their dependence upon the Gila. The Papago of Southern Arizona, known in their own language as *toxono o' otam*, Desert People, have been nicknamed *papawi o' otam*, meaning Bean People, a name at one time applied only to the westernmost Desert People living in the barren region on both sides of the present Mexican border. It was not until after the mission period that those changes were initiated which resulted in the formal demarcation of Papago from Pima.

17 Underhill, *Papago*, p. 20.
18 Hoover, *Generic Descent of the Papago Villages*, pp. 261-62.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

PAPAGO MUSIC

By Frances Densmore

THE PAPAGO TRIBE[1]

The name of this tribe is derived from *papâh*, meaning "beans," and *ôotam*, meaning "people." They are a Piman tribe, closely allied to the Pima, and their original home was the territory in the main and tributary valleys of the Santa Cruz River and in the territory south and southeast of the Gila River, especially south of Tucson, Ariz., and extending across the desert into Sonora, Mexico. They are an agricultural people, maize, beans, and cotton formerly being their principal crops, which they cultivated by irrigation. Many desert plants contributed to their food supply, especially the mesquite, the beans of which are eaten, and the saguaro or giant cactus (*Cereus giganteus*), from the fruit of which a ceremonial drink was formerly made. An extensive trade in salt was formerly conducted by the Papago, who obtained the salt from the great inland lagoons and sold it in Tucson and Tubac. At present their principal crops are wheat and barley, and they raise cattle to a considerable extent. They are by nature an industrious people and are now finding employment in various activities incidental to the coming of the white race. For instance, many are able to make a living by cutting mesquite wood on the desert and selling it in the neighboring towns. The skin of the Papago is reddish brown and they are gentle in their nature. Like the Pima, the Papago women are expert basket makers but their baskets are much coarser than those of the Pima. Their pottery is far inferior to that of the Pueblos, and the designs and patterns of both the baskets and the pottery are the same as those of the Pima. They were not lacking in bravery in old times, as shown by their expeditions against the Apache, from whose raids they suffered severely. Their typical dwelling was dome-shaped, consisting of a framework of saplings thatched with grass or leafy shrubs, with an adjacent shelter or ramada. At the present time they live chiefly in adobe houses. There are six subdivisions of the tribe living within the United States. The number of Papago in the United States as shown in the census last preceding this work was 4,465. There was no family of mixed blood (Papago and white) living on the reserva-

[1] See Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, part 2, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 209, from which this description of the tribe is quoted.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

often not far from water. Another American of many years' residence, who had shot deer south-east of Libertad, confirmed this. Certain it is that domesticated animals of arid regions are much more enduring than those of moister regions. Cattle will live well for months without any other water than that of the juice of the cacti, which is, besides, their principal means of subsistence. Even horses do not come in to drink of their own free will every day during the winter. In my travels it was the usual thing during the winter time for our animals to go without water every second day; such is the custom of that western desert country and its animals are in surprisingly good condition. On one occasion, in March, our horses and mules, travelling during the day, had no water for seventy-six hours. It was only the horses that suffered and this was more from the quality of the water than from the lack of it. There is one domestic animal, however, man's constant companion, the dog, that declines to adapt itself to desert conditions. Besides suffering from thirst, the hot soil makes its feet sore and it does not know on which leg to stand. Even the dogs of the Indians when travelling, especially in the hot season, remain behind panting in what little shade there may be under the bushes, and only continue their journey in the coolness of the evening.

In such an environment live the Papago Indians, the people of the desert. They are a Pima tribe and speak the same language as the Pima Indians with some variations of dialect. Their number reaches perhaps four thousand five hundred, of whom not over seven hundred

[i.e., Arid. — Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

live in Mexico. The name Papago is usually interpreted as meaning "bean people." Their tribal name as employed by themselves is *Óotam*, which means "the people." They call the Pima Indians *Ákimuri Óotam*, "river people," referring appropriately to their habitat on the Gila River. The Pima call the Papago *Tóono Óotam*, "desert people."

The early Spanish missionaries were unable to exercise much influence over this tribe. The indefatigable Jesuit, Father Kino, who in the present State of Sonora in 1687 established his first mission, Dolores, travelled much in the Papagueria or Pimeria Alta, as far as the Gila River and crossing the Colorado. He was treated kindly by the Papagoes; but they have, nevertheless, been described by the early chroniclers as wild and dangerous. According to Mr. Bandelier, there is no historical record left of their customs and religion beyond that concerning the prevalence of witchcraft, which is still much in evidence. Even up to recent years the Papagoes made short work of medicine-men suspected of witchcraft.

The topographical position of the missions that were established was such that with the forts, or presidios, they formed a barrier against the Apaches, who were the main obstacle to the Christianizing and civilizing efforts of the Spaniard. Some of the missions of the "Province of Sonora" grew to be very rich in cattle and cultivated lands, feeding, as a recent Mexican author says, "a multitude of pagans who flocked there and helped in the work of the mission when needed." Sometimes the

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

nicer disposition than Pedro, in an emergency I think I should rather trust myself to the brutal sagacity of the latter.

Judging from these two and from a third one, Agustin, that I knew, the sand people were not a pleasant lot to deal with. They were rapacious and probably merciless to strangers, whether Indians or Mexicans. Agustin was a distant, disagreeable kind of a man, whose confidence it would take years to win. According to Mexican accounts, the areneños formerly made the roads dangerous to pass, and nobody could follow them into the sand dunes to their principal retreat at Pinacate.

These Papagoes were called Híatit Óotam, "sand people." According to my companion, the medicine-man Pancho, who spent his early life in the dunes, they were not many in number and used to travel all together. He asserted that a peculiar disease accompanied by the vomiting of "yellow and green and then blood" killed most of those natives, and thought that it was brought from Yuma. The course of the disease took from four to ten days. It probably is the same affliction that is mentioned on the Papago calendar stick (page 74) as having occurred in 1851. The remaining four families decided to retire to other parts and for the last forty or fifty years the sand dune country has been uninhabited. These natives probably never exceeded in number one hundred and fifty all told, and their head-quarters were at *Hótunikat* (sunset), south of Pinacate. The great annual feast, now given at Quitovac, was removed from the Pinacate region before my informant's time—thus at least over

8: Pijoan, Elkin & Eslinger D-5 (ca. 1942)1943
NU28 Papago NU28

ASCORBIC ACID DEFICIENCY AMONG PAPAGO INDIANS

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INTRODUCTION

The Papago Indians, a people of Uto-Aztec origin, live in sequestered communities, among reservation lands of approximately 2,500,000 acres. These settlements extend along the frontier of Arizona and Sonora and are bordered by the Pima reservation on the north. The land itself is typically that of an Arizona desert, with vegetation of cactus, palo verde, mesquite and ironwood; it is an arid, forbidding, isolated region with very low precipitation.

The Papagos, over five thousand in number, pursue their temporal farming, much as they have always done, but in many instances a deculturation process has taken place with a change from a diet of wild plants and animals to one of more or less refined cereals and occasionally meat. The fact that the bean is the staple food of the Papagos is borne out by the name given to these Indians, "papawi o' otam," meaning "bean people."

The principal foods in the Papago diet are beans of several varieties: white, brown and yellow tepari (Phaseolus acutifolius), pink beans (Prosopis vulgaris), mesquite beans (Prosopis chilensis), and screw beans (Prosopis pubescens); garden peas (Pisum sativum), and black-eyed beans (Vigna sinensis), corn (Zea mays, amylacea), pumpkins (Cucurbita

[1] Senior physician, U. S. Indian Service, Sells Agency, Sells, Arizona.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

GENERIC DESCENT OF THE PAPAGO VILLAGES

By J. W. HOOVER

THE region of southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, occupied by the Papago Indians, was called Papagueria by the Spaniards. The name is again coming into use as the area is made to stand out in sharper contrast with the lines of settlement and civilization drawing more closely about it. Broadly considered, it is the area south of the Southern Pacific Railway and west of the Santa Cruz River, and north of the Altar Valley, Sonora. Disregarding several considerable outlying villages or groups such as those at San Xavier and in Tucson, the Papago villages are confined to that part of the area which is bounded on the east by the Baboquivari Mountain range and related low mountain groups extending northward. These also roughly bound the Papago Indian Reservation. On the north, white settlement is approaching the reservation boundary line. The western boundary is less definite, as in this direction the desert becomes increasingly inhospitable, merging into great precarious empty waste spaces, too barren to support even Papago.[1]

As part of the Basin Range Province, the Papagueria is characterized by flat detrital plains, interrupted by low fault block mountains which occupy the minor part of the area. The mountains are in an advanced stage of erosion, rugged and almost bare of soil and vegetation, due to aridity and spasmodic rainfall. The products of disintegration have been emptied onto the relatively depressed areas and spread out smoothly.

Both mountains and plains, or so-called valleys, have north-northwest by south-southeast axes, and the Papagueria lies open both to the north and to the south. So, northward the Papago villages blend into the Pima villages of the Gila River, interrupted by the wedge of white settlement extending from Florence on the Gila River westward through Casa Grande. And southward, they blend into the river villages of the Altar Valley, Sonora, now mostly Mexican. The Indians of the latter valley are really Pima as the Spanish padres made the distinction. The settled groups on the river flats wherever found were called Pima, and the somewhat migratory desert Indians were called Papago.

The eastern border land, the Santa Cruz Valley, was formerly occupied by the Sobaipuris, who like the Pima on the Gila and Altar Rivers, irrigated their fields on the flats of the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Rivers.

[1] Godfrey Sykes, The Camino del Diablo: with Notes on a Journey in 1925 (Geographical Review, Vol. 17, pp. 62–74, 1927); Eldred D. Wilson, New Mountains in the Yuma Desert (Geographical Review, Vol. 21, pp. 22–228, 1931).

12: Hill Y-5 (ca. 1940) 1942 NU28 Papago NU28

NOTES ON PAPAGO POTTERY MANUFACTURE AT SANTA ROSA, ARIZONA

101 The Papagos occupy an extensive stretch of territory in the southern and southwestern portions of the state, south of the Pima. San Xavier, a small reservation, is situated near the city of Tucson; to the southwest lies the Sells area where the majority of the people live. Papago rancherias extend for a considerable distance into Sonora, Mexico. Santa Rosa, where this study of the potter's craft was made in 1935, is the largest and most important village on the several reservations.

323 Pottery making, next to agriculture and stock raising, is probably the greatest industry among the Papagos. Technique as observed at the village of Santa Rosa is quite similar to that recorded by Russell[1] for the Pima, differing from it only in minor details.

317 323 Clay for the manufacture of pottery is of two types—a rather coarse red material containing a large amount of hematite, and a finer-grained white clay. Both kinds are obtained from beds near Covered Wells, thirteen miles west of Santa Rosa. The material is first dried thoroughly by spreading it in the sun. As the red clay is mixed with small pebbles and fragments of broken rock, winnowing is necessary before it can be used. In former times, this was accomplished by tossing the material in a basket, but at present, it is sifted through a piece of screen.

323 Tools consist of containers for the clay and water, a curved wooden paddle, a large piece of cloth (later twisted to form a support for the vessels), an anvil (a small round stone), and several smoothing and polishing pebbles. In previous times, containers were baskets and pottery vessels; now these have been supplanted largely by burlap sacks for the clay and lard pails to hold the water.

The clay is first mixed with a little sand, then dried manure is added for a temper. Sufficient water is used to moisten the material thoroughly, and the whole mass is kneaded. The bottom of another vessel serves as a form. Ashes are smoothed over its surface to prevent the moist material from sticking. Taking a lump of clay about the size of her two fists, the potter pats and works it between the palms of her hands until it is formed into a flat disk. This is dusted with ashes, fitted over the form, and molded into shape with a smoothing stone, the material meanwhile being turned around and around with the hand. It is next removed, the form again dusted with ashes, and the clay replaced, then patted flat and even with the curved paddle. The hands are dipped into water and the surface smoothed all over. The bottoms of smaller pieces are shaped by hand, without the use of a form.

The base of the vessel now completed, the potter removes it from the form and sets it right side up to dry for a time in the sun. Another piece is usually worked upon while the first is drying, in order that there may be no delay. The paddle, anvil, and smoothing stones are dropped into the water container to soak for a few moments. When ready to start building up the sides of the vessel, the potter moistens its upper edge, then twists and coils a piece of cloth into a base on which to rest her work.

In beginning the process of coiling, a lump of clay about the size of that used for the base of the vessel is divided in half, each portion being moistened and kneaded thor-

[1] Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians* (Bureau of American Ethnology. Twenty-sixth Annual Report, 1904–05. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908).

14: Kroeber B-4 (no date) 1912
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TRADITIONS OF THE PAPAGO INDIANS

BY HENRIETTE ROTHSCHILD KROEBER

101 114 THE Pima Indians of Arizona, and the adjacent Papago of the same State and of Sonora, are regarded as distinct tribes, but are said by themselves to be so nearly identical in language and customs, that they seem to go back to a common origin of no great antiquity. All that is known of their mythology points to similar close affiliations. The largest collection of traditions assembled, though it is clearly only an outline, is by Frank Russell, from the Pima.[1] An older sketch is by Grossman.[2] Further information as to the beliefs of the same tribe is given by Bancroft[3] and the writer.[4] The Papago live in more forbidding and less accessible localities, and less is known of them. Davidson[5] provides a distorted account of their creation story, which Bancroft[6] repeats, and the author has contributed "Coyote Tales" to the Journal of American Folk-Lore.[7] The traditions now presented were obtained from Juan Dolores, an educated full-blood member of the tribe. It appears, from the manner in which his first story tallies with the others mentioned, that both Pimas and Papagos possess an important and interesting myth of the origin of the world and of themselves, in which many incidents are told in the same form, and in which Earth-Maker or Earth-Doctor and Older-Brother are the leading personages or gods, with Coyote filling a different and subsidiary place.

OUTLINES OF THE CREATION MYTH

539 In the beginning there was nothing but darkness and water. The darkness, the water, and the air composed the whole universe. As

[1] *Twenty-sixth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 3–390 (1908). See pp. 206–250.

[2] F. E. Grossman, "The Pima Indians of Arizona," in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1871 (1873), pp. 407–419.

[3] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, vol. iii (1883), pp. 78–80.

[4] "Pima Tales," in *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. x (1908), pp. 231–235.

[5] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1865, pp. 131–133.

[6] Work cited, pp. 75–77.

[7] Vol. xxii (1909).

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

INTRODUCTION

Papagueria, the home of the Papago, is a barren strip of country along the Mexican border between the Gila River in southern Arizona and the Altar in northern Sonora. The northern portion of Papagueria was a part of Mexico until 1854, the year of the Gadsden Purchase. Many of the Indians speak Spanish and the whole country shows customs of Spanish origin. This country was, in the old days, always thought of as part of Pimeria Alta, the land of the Pimas, who are now scattered along the Gila River. Papago and Pima, in fact, speak the same language with only slight variations, and have for the two tribes only one name, The People, being differentiated as River People (Pimas) and Desert People (Papagos). For our purposes we may allude to the combined People as Pimans, since most statements that can be made about one branch of the Pimas are true or have been true for the other, and it is only within comparatively recent times that a noticeable difference has grown up.

The Pimans are a part of the great Uto-Aztecan language family which stretches from Idaho to beyond Mexico City. Their own language is similar to that of other tribes in northern Mexico, such as Opata, Yaqui, Mayo, Tarahumare, and Huichol. They were thought of by the first Spanish explorers as the northernmost of the wild tribes who stretched into the wilderness beyond Mexico City, but because of the inhospitality of their desert land they did not suffer the thorough conquest which befell the other Mexican tribes, and have thus kept many of their ancient customs intact.

The great missionary, Kino, came to the Papagos in 1687 and labored brilliantly for some twenty-five years. But the church could not be induced to make of this desert country the elaborate venture which he desired. Although a few priests were sent to help him the missions dwindled

Chapter I

HISTORY

The modern Papago, and their effort to adjust to the American industrial civilization around them, cannot be understood apart from the traditions and values that have come down through the years from the ancestral Papago society which occupied this same region in pre-Spanish times. The contrast between the Papago society and economy of 1700 and modern American industrial life is as great as the contrast between any two societies in the world today.

Linguistically, the Papago dialects--still spoken in the vast majority of Papago homes--are classified with the Pima-Papago division of the Piman language which, in turn, is grouped with the larger Uto-Aztecan stock which is made up of Indian languages spoken from southern Mexico to the borders of Montana and Wyoming. Culturally, the Papago are related to the desert tribes of northwestern Mexico, western Arizona, southern California and Nevada.

As a group these so-called "Rancheria" cultures are characterized as having loose political organization with little authority vested in the chief or headman;

important social unit to the extended family which, in some other Rancheria cultures, was the largest effective social unit. Leadership, as among other desert tribes, was more through personal influence and character than vested authority. In addition to the headman each village also had a council of elders, a village crier, a keeper of the smoke, and other village officers who were in charge of ceremonies and festivals. Papago warfare, led by men selected for their ability, was directed principally against the Apache on the east.

Perhaps the people now known as Papagos would be more accurately described as the descendents of three west to east groups whose "Rancheria" type culture became more complex toward the east where increased rainfall and surface water permitted such things as concentrated and permanent settlements, greater division of labor, and more elaborate religious ceremonies. Dr. Bernard Fontana, at any rate, has pointed out that at the time of Spanish contact there were three major "types" of Papago groups classified on the basis of subsistence and settlement patterns. (Personal Communication). These, according to Fontana, were the western centrally-based nomads, the Sand Papagos, living in an area of less than five inches of rainfall annually and located between the Gila Mountains on the west to the Ajo Mountains on the east; the central "akchin" farmers, or Papagos proper, whose winter-summer transhumance

175 pattern is well known, living in an area of between five
101 and ten inches of rainfall annually and located between
131 the Ajo Mountains on the west and the Baboquivari Mountains
132 on the east; and the eastern riverine sedentary Papagos, or "Sobaipuris", living in an area of between ten and fifteen inches of rainfall annually and located between the Baboquivari Mountains on the west and the San Pedro Valley on the east.

175 Papago agricultural techniques were simple.
105 Most fields were small, located at the foot of steep
241 slopes, where intermittent streams emerged at the edge of the flat desert land; at these "mouths" (akchin in Papago), a small cultivated area could be watered, if rain came in the adjacent hills at the right time. Small irrigation channels were used to bring water from larger mountain streams to fields in the flat valleys, but no large-scale development of irrigation was possible such as the Gila
[162] and Salt valleys permitted. Along the Santa Cruz River, however, in the vicinity of the San Xavier Mission south of Tucson, extensive irrigation canals were used in pre-Spanish times and, even though smaller in extent than the aboriginal irrigation systems along the Gila and Salt, permitted a concentration of population at Bac which exceeded the size of any of the Pima villages farther north. (Dr. Bernard Fontana, Personal Communication).

18: Kelly E-4,5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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Table 3. Papago Population by Districts 1914 and 1959

District	1914 (Clotts)	1959 (BER)
Baboquivari	949	562
Chukut Kuk	512	214
Gu Achi	695	531
Gu Vo	200	230
Hickiwan	222	346
Pisinimo	396	330
Schuk Toak	565	370
Sells	659	1,026
Sif Oidak	1,115	552
Total	5,313	4,161

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[101]

The Present Population. The information which follows is derived from a Papago population register secured by the Bureau of Ethnic Research in 1958 and 1959 in connection with a research project sponsored and in major part financed by the Biometry Branch of the National Cancer Institute. The work was under the direction of Dr. Robert A. Hackenberg and cooperating agencies were the Papago Tribe, the Division of Indian Health of the Public Health Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Arizona State Office of Vital Statistics.

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A population register is not a census. It is intended to serve as a permanent record of identifiable

Data from records was available for only about two thirds of the individuals enumerated. Such data as kinship, present residence, village of origin, employment, and the educational level of adults, was secured entirely from field interviews. 127 125

A census defines the individuals to be enumerated in terms of their geographical location. A population register defines individuals on the basis of their membership in a specific group. One of our first tasks, therefore, was to define a Papago. The definition used by Dr. Hackenberg (1961) is given below. It can be made operational because we have records of the individual builders of dwellings on the three Papago reservations*, and because we have lineage data which give us the network of Papago kin ties. 127 121 101 128

1. A person will be considered a Papago Indian if he constructed a house within the limits of the Papago Reservations (Sells, San Xavier and Gila Bend), unless he fails to meet the terms of #3 below.

2. A person will be considered a Papago Indian if he is either a lineal or collateral relative of such a housebuilder unless he fails to meet the terms of #3 below.

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* Papagos do not live on the Gila Bend Reservation. Papagos living adjacent to the Reservation, however, are traditionally considered "reservation Papagos".

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3. No person will be considered a Papago Indian if he did not have at least one grand-parent considered to be a full-blood Papago Indian by other Indians in his community.

The strict limits of this definition, however, have not been adhered to in this report. For total population figures we are counting all individuals of any degree of Papago ancestry, and we are counting individuals who, as yet, have not been linked by kinship to reservation house-builders. In Chapter IV we shall limit our discussion to a somewhat smaller group of Papagos to be defined as the "administrative population".

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[161] The total living Papago population, according to our count, is 11,775: 5,816 male and 5,959 female. As everyone has long suspected, about half of the Papagos live in non-reservation communities, mostly in Arizona. The exact percentage is 47% but we have every reason to believe that almost all of the individuals for whom we have no residence are living off reservations. By adding this group of 531 individuals to the off reservation population, the percentage climbs to 49%.

The total living Papago population, by sex and residence, is as follows:

trained management and the use of fertilizers, insect control and expensive farm equipment and water pumps. 241

Flood water farming, as it has been practiced since prehistoric days on the Papago Reservation, consists of the use of surface runoff of rain water at those spots where it could be collected and spread, either at the mouth of an arroyo or along stream beds in the larger valleys. Various names have been used to describe this technique: "akchin farming" (akchin being the Papago word for the mouth of an arroyo), "flash flood farming," and "dry farming." Actually, since the introduction of wheat by Europeans, dry farming, which depends directly upon moisture from rainfall, has been used by the Papago in raising winter wheat. Corn, beans, and squash, however, which must be grown in summer, depend upon flood water which can only be supplied by the artificial spreading of moisture from intermittent streams. [177]

Periodic surveys and estimates made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs show that flood water farming on the main reservation has steadily declined during the past 50 years. How far the decline has gone, however, is not known. In an effort to secure this information the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been systematically carrying out a farm survey during the past five years. Thus far, only the southeastern part of the main reservation has been surveyed (Chukut Kuk, Baboquivari, and the southern part of the Sells district). 241 178 657 129 [311] [101] [634]

241 311 634 The survey records 536 acres that are now being farmed, or have very recently been farmed, out of a total of 4,466 acres available for flood water farming in this area. The location and approximate size of these plots, both farmed and idle, are shown on Map 8.

241 178 Although yields could not be determined, the crops grown on many plots were recorded, indicating an overwhelming preference for corn, beans, and squash, the ancient and traditional food crops of prehistoric Indians in the Southwest. Watermelons, wheat, milo, peas, and a few other crops, are grown in very small quantities. Thus the chief function of these farms is subsistence which, in fact, is a return to earlier times since as recently as 20 years ago cash crops of winter wheat were grown on much of this same land.

[114] [101] [311] In an effort to determine whether or not a similar decline in flood water farming has occurred in other areas of the reservation, a brief study was made by the Bureau of Ethnic Research in the Santa Rosa, Chuichu, and Gu Vo areas.

241 311 178 The situation as it exists in the southeastern section of the reservation was found to be the same in these areas. Individual farmers were working less than ten acres each and often only one or two. In each case there was a reduction in the size of family plots when compared with former years and, as in the southeast, many families had abandoned flood water farming altogether.

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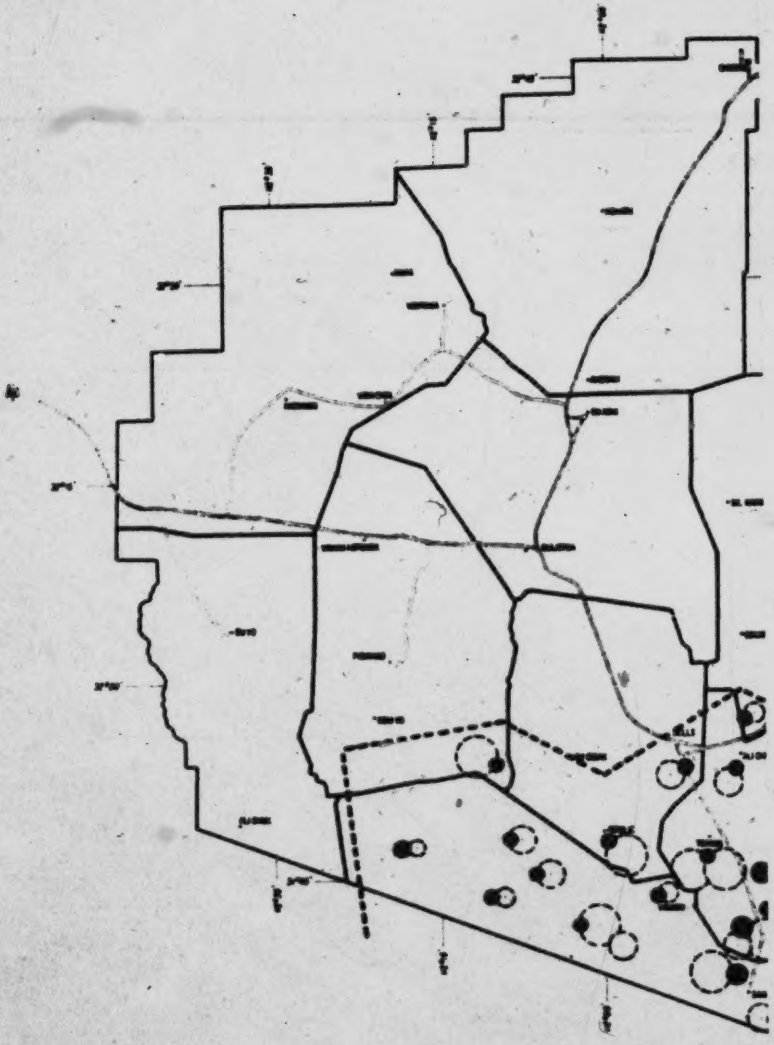

G.82-A11

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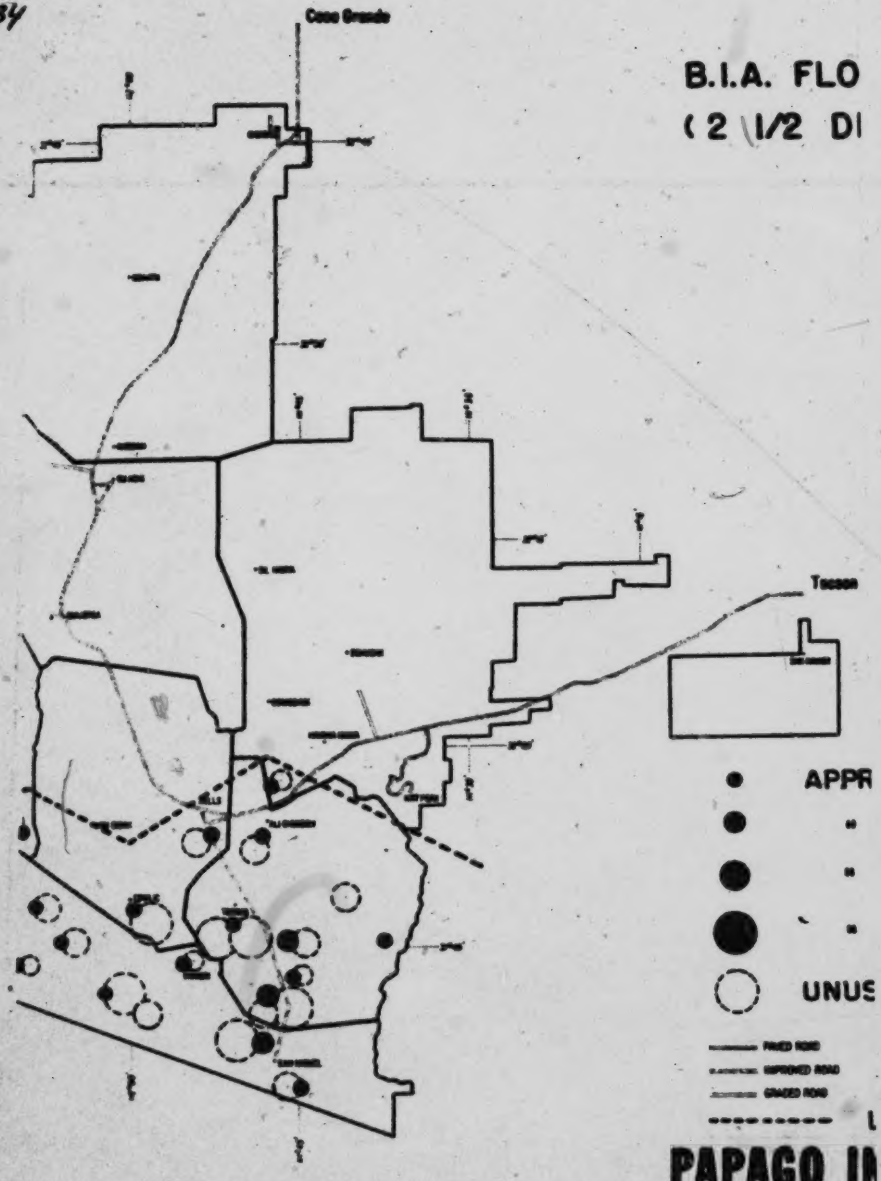

[p. 82-A2]

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

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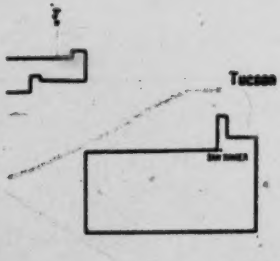
MAP 8

B.I.A. FLOOD WATER FARM SURVEY

(2 1/2 DISTRICTS COMPLETED)



ACRES FARMED 1959, '60, '61

- APPROX. 25 (1–50)
- " 75 (51–100)
- " 150 (101–200)
- " 250 (201–300)

UNUSED ACREAGE IN PLOTS

PAVED ROAD
IMPROVED ROAD
GRADED ROAD

LIMIT OF SURVEY

PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION

1963

[E-82-A3]

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter IV

MANPOWER RESOURCES AND EMPLOYMENT

The Administrative Population. In the absence of an up-to-date tribal roll and of a practical definition which would identify Indians as falling under the responsibility of tribal officials and the federal administrators on the Papago reservations, it has been necessary to define an "administrative" population rather arbitrarily. 101 162

This is necessary for the reason that many Papago Indians (under our definition in Chapter II) are residents of other reservations and thus fall outside the scope of programs and services administered out of Sells. Others would not be considered eligible by reason of residence in Mexico or because they and their parents and grandparents have intermarried with other Indians or non-Indians and are thus more fully oriented toward a non-Papago reservation or toward non-Indian community.

Taking these factors into account, we have defined the Papago administrative population to which our employment studies will refer, as follows:

1. All Papago Indians who are residents of one of the three Papago reservations, irrespective of the degree of mixture with other Indians or non-Indians.

2. All Papago Indians who are residents of communities which are outside any Indian reservation and who have at least one-quarter Papago ancestry.

The total Papago population of 11,775 (see Page 48) was thus reduced 161 10,195 as follows:

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[101]

Papago Agricultural Workers in Pima County. Agricultural work off the reservation is of such great importance to Papago family economics that we felt it necessary to make a special study of this subject. The project was planned and executed in 1961 by Mr. Harland Padfield, a Department of Anthropology graduate student who is an authority on this subject. Unfortunately, the study was limited to Pima County since funds did not permit the extension of the research to other sections of southern Arizona.

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[434]

Mr. Padfield was able to establish two points: (1) Papago Indians in farm work are shifting to other jobs than seasonal cotton picking and are not being displaced because of mechanization, (2) they account for 30 percent of the total man-hour input and 27 percent of the total wage input on Pima County farms and receive total annual earnings of about $630,000. The evidence, although not conclusive, also indicates that there is a steady increase in the training and use of Papagos in the operation of farm machinery and in other skilled jobs.

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The author concludes his report with the following words: "These data should make it patently clear that with the Papago Reservation virtually surrounded by 370,000 acres of farm land needing a labor force in excess of 10,000 workers and a labor expenditure probably in excess of $13,000,000 annually, programs and policies aimed at the problem of Papago economics cannot ignore farm labor; neither can programs and policies aimed at the problem of farm labor ignore the Papago Indians."

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Padfield's work was based upon an area sample which permitted him to generalize from detailed interviews with 21 of the 119 farm operators in Pima County with a total acreage of 29,796 out of 66,875. Data thus collected was supplemented through interviews with crew leaders who recruited the seasonal workers, mostly cotton pickers, for the farms drawn in the sample.

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

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This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

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A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

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The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

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311
428

Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the water table--20 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalization of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894

NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

PIMA AGENCY.

R Pi Pa 101 648 [161]

Reports of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the Gila River, Salt River, and Papago reservations, Pima agency, Maricopa Pima, and Pinal counties, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying said reservations: (a) On the Gila Bend reservation, Papagos; on the Gila River reservation, Maricopa and Pimas; on the Salt River reservation, Maricopa and Pimas; on the Papago reservation, Papagos.

The unallotted areas of these reservations are as follows: Gila Bend reservation, 22,891 acres, or 35 square miles; Gila River, 357,120 acres, or 558 square miles; Salt River, 46,720 acres, or 73 square miles; Papago, 70,000 acres, or 109.3 square miles. These reservations have been partially surveyed and some portions subdivided. They were established, altered, or changed as follows: Gila River, by act of Congress approved February 28, 1859 (11 U. S. Stats., p. 401); executive orders August 31, 1876, January 10, 1879, June 14, 1879, May 5, 1882, and November 15, 1883; Salt River, by executive order June 14, 1879; Papago, by executive order July 1, 1874, and act of Congress approved August 4, 1882 (22 U. S. Stats., p. 298); Gila Bend reservation created by executive order December 12, 1882.

Indian population June 1, 1890: Gila River, 3,625; Salt River, 966 (Pimas, 641; Maricopas, 325); Papagos, 5,163; total, 9,942.

This agency comprises the Gila River reservation, occupied by the Pimas; the Salt River reservation, inhabited by Pimas and Maricopas; the Papago reservation, and the Papagos off the reservation.

Pi 175 648 342 [241]

The Pima Indians were occupying the valley of the Gila when the white man first saw them in 1539, and they have remained there, a peaceable and friendly people. For many years this valley was a place of refuge for white men, for the Pimas protected and fed them from their scanty fare. These Indians have been self-supporting. But little is given them by the government except farming implements. Their chief productions are wheat, barley, beans, and melons. The typical Pima house is shaped somewhat like an inverted kettle. It is about 20 feet in diameter, has no windows, and only one low door. The civilized and educated Pima is not contented with this kind of house; hence he makes his house of adobes, with windows, doors, tables, beds, and cupboards. About 50 adobe houses are now built each year.

Pa 175 648

The Papagos inhabited the southern third portion of Arizona and the northern part of Sonora, Mexico, when the Europeans first met them in 1539–1540. They usually have a little better houses than the Pimas. Their teachers have generally been Catholics, but they are not making equal progress with the Pimas, excepting those who are in the government schools.

R 101 648 [161]

The Maricopas came from the Yuma tribe, who live on the Colorado river in California. They at one time assisted the Pimas in fighting the Apaches in the Gila valley, living at that time about 8 miles below the Sacaton agency, but because of the lack of water for irrigating purposes they left the old reservation about 15 years ago and went to the Salt River reservation, on the south bank of the Salt river, near Phenix, where they now are. They number only 315. They are a good-for-nothing sort of people, lazy, and fault-finding.

The Maricopas are decreasing in number.—C. W. CROUSE, United States Indian agent.

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The agency buildings at Sacaton are of adobe; one two-story, used as a dwelling, valued at $4,000; another of one story, containing the agent's and the physician's offices, valued at $500; one used as a storeroom, $1,500; one as a blacksmith's shop, value, $600; sundry others used for storage, value, $500; total value, $7,100. The dwelling is in fair condition, and the others specified are in good condition.

GILA RIVER AND SALT RIVER RESERVATIONS.

Pi 131

The Pima tribe of Indians are on two reservations in Arizona, the larger commencing at the junction of the Gila and Salt rivers and running east on both sides of the Gila river about 52 miles, with an average breadth of 10.66 miles, containing 558 square miles or 357,120 acres. Along with the Pimas at Salt river are 315 Maricopas, and they will be considered as one people in writing about them. The southern limit of this reservation is latitude 33° north. The Salt River reservation lies about 12 miles east of the city of Phenix, and is mostly on the north side of the Salt river, extending easterly about 13 miles, and contains 73 square miles, or 46,720 acres.

Pi 13 241

About one-eighth of the Gila River reservation is mountainous, the remainder an arid waste. During the rainy season, however, sufficient grass is produced on the greater part of the reservation for pasturage for a limited number of animals. In the year 1890 about 6,000 acres of land were cultivated, yielding good crops of wheat and barley wherever the water supply was sufficient.

The Salt River reservation is similar to the Gila river country, except that a larger proportion of the surface is mountainous. During the dry season the bed of the Gila is often dry in places. The imperfection of any irrigating system yet devised by the Indians tends to reduce the agricultural product of the reservation from year to year. Below this agency 21 farms, which produced more than 400,000 pounds of wheat in 1889, have produced but a few pounds in 1890, on account of the scarcity of water when the crops were growing.

The altitude of the agency and this portion of the reservation is about 1,100 feet. The highest temperature for 1890 was 107°, and the lowest 28°. No record of the rainfall was kept, but it is believed that the quantity is very nearly the same as that recorded at Phenix, 40 miles distant, which was about 8 inches.

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a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 434–445. The population is the result of the census.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Pa 658 797

There is what is termed a "contract school" located at Tucson, which many of the Papago children attend. The school is established and supported in part by a missionary department of the Presbyterian church. The buildings are large, airy, well planned, and adapted to the purpose required. The pupils seem well disciplined and clean. The government pays a stated sum annually to the school for each pupil in attendance as reimbursement for board and clothing furnished. The school owns 5 or 6 good buildings, all in good condition and well furnished, also a farm of 43 acres. On account of lack of water but few garden vegetables are grown, but barley and wheat yield abundantly.

Some of the scholars are taught carpentering, painting, and plastering, and their work is quite satisfactory.

PAPAGOS LIVING OFF THE RESERVATION.

Pa 131 197

These Papago Indians live in the southern part of Pima county, along the southern border of the territory of Arizona. Their language is similar to that spoken by the Pimas. They roam over a country about 100 miles in width north and south and about 125 miles east and west, and there are a few small villages over the Mexican border but near the boundary line.

Pa 13 231

The country in which they live consists of broad, open plains, divided by mountain ranges. The valleys or plains are arid, having no natural springs or running streams of water; yet after the summer rains these plains are covered with grass of a fine quality, and owing to the dryness of the air this grass is cured or dried on the ground and furnishes good, rich food for cattle during the remainder of the year.

Pa 361 312 342 [231]

The Indians select their dwelling places at the foot of the mountains near the mouth of the various canyons that open out into the plains. Small springs often flow through these canyons and sink into the sand. The Indians utilize these springs or sink wells into the sand, and thus secure the underflow from the springs. Their cattle feed out into the plains and return to these wells or springs to drink. Near these watering places, usually on an elevation, the Indians build their houses in their permanent villages of adobe, about 12 by 16 feet in area and about 8 feet in height. Small poles are laid on top and crosswise of the building, and on these are laid brush, with weeds or grass on the brush, the whole covered with about 6 inches of clay, which is impervious to water.

Pa [352]

The floor is of clay, and there is one doorway, but no windows. The doorway is sometimes closed with a dried beef hide. As a rule, they live on the outside of the house. The house contains no furniture except a little bedding and some cooking utensils.

Pa 262 439 291

Their food consists of beef, dried wild fruit, dried mesquite beans made into a kind of bread, and wild game. During the summer rains they raise some vegetables, which they dry for winter use. They also sell or trade cattle to settlers in the Gila and Santa Cruz valleys for wheat and corn, which the women grind in their crude way into meal and flour. They have adopted the civilized mode of dress, and are gradually learning the use of soap.

The women of the tribe are virtuous and industrious, being in these traits far in advance of any other tribe in the territory.

Pa 161 648 Pa 46

There are 4,800 of this tribe living off the Papago reservation. With rare exceptions they are self-sustaining, have always been good citizens, and on many occasions have joined with the whites to assist in suppressing murderous Apaches. The principal occupation of the men is raising cattle and horses, and a little farming when they can find a piece of damp ground that will raise corn and vegetables, hunting, chopping wood around mining camps, and ordinary labor wherever they can find it. If there is any mixed blood in the tribe it is not perceptible.

There are several mining camps scattered throughout the country which these Indians inhabit, and in some of the large valleys wealthy men or companies have sunk wells 500 or 1,000 feet deep and established cattle ranches or ranges, and many Indians are employed about these camps and mines.

Pa 133 487 224

The country is somewhat difficult of access, as there are several mountain ranges running through it. The roads follow the valleys, and sometimes it is "a long way around where it is only a short way across". These mountain ranges abound in game, which the Indians hunt.

Pa 273 231

A month's travel in these Papago villages failed to reveal a single case of drunkenness, although there are frequent instances of drunkenness among Indians in the streets of Tucson. They have great numbers of horses and cattle, but it is impossible to form a correct estimate as to numbers. The horses are small and inferior, but the cattle are fully up to the average in size and quality.

Pa 648 771 797

These Indians as a tribe have always been exceptionally friendly to the white people. They have never received aid from the government. The little religion they have is a conglomerate of Roman catholicism, superstition, and Indian hoodooism. The Roman Catholic church established missions among them more than 150 years ago.

THE RESERVATION AND NONRESERVATION PAPAGO INDIANS, PIMA AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent C. W. Wood on the reservation and nonreservation Papagos of Pima and Cochise counties.

Pa 101 Pi [101] Pa [797]

TRIBAL NAME.—The Papagos and Pimas were formerly one tribe. Authorities differ as to the derivation and meaning of the name. One view is that Papago means "hair cut", another that it means "baptized". Neither of these meanings has any etymological basis or value. The most reasonable derivation of the term seems to be the following, derived from conversation with the oldest Indians: the division of the Pimas occurred from the labors

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

101 of the Jesuit missionaries. When a considerable number of them had accepted the teachings of the missionaries
797 they were called, by way of distinction, Papagos, from the Spanish word for pope, "papa". Baptism was involved in their becoming christians, and hair cutting was an incidental result of the influence of the missionaries. Neither of these facts, however, can account for the name. On the other hand, the derivation from "papa" is etymological and consistent with the facts. They had become adherent to the pope. So far as I can learn, this explanation of and origin of the name has never been published.

The resident missionary at Sacaton gave still another derivation of the word Papago. He speaks and preaches in the Indian tongue, and thinks the name is derived from the word "pa-pa-cot", meaning discontented. This could easily be corrupted into Papago. The Indians at an early date became much dissatisfied with the exactions and tyranny of the jesuits, and this term was naturally applied to them.

166 The Papagos are a seminomadic tribe, their migrations being due to the peculiar character of the country which they inhabit. The exigencies of food, water, and labor are the principal causes of their temporary changes of habitation; but the extent of their migrations, and the localities which they occupy for varying periods, are within certain limitations. When, through the presence of wells or running water, the supply of that indispensable element is unfailing, they migrate in search of food or labor.

[312] When the water supply, which is procured from natural water holes or the earth reservoirs constructed by them, called tanks, where it accumulates during the rainy season, has been consumed, they remove to the vicinity of wells or running water found in the canyons of the mountains or in the deep valleys among the foothills. This migratory feature of their life greatly enhances the difficulty of an exact enumeration of the tribe.

[131] The territory over which they range lies south of the Southern Pacific railroad, in Arizona, and is about 100 by 150 miles in extent. Many thousands are also located in the state of Sonora, Mexico. They move back and forth at will between the two countries, and when a village is found in motion inquiry alone can determine, and then not always with certainty, on which side of the line they really belong.

161 From various publications relating to Arizona, and from the statements of ranchmen, miners, traders, surveyors, and a census enumerator, quite conflicting and divergent estimates were obtained of the number of the Papagos. These estimates range from 3,000 to 7,000, while most of them agree on 5,000 or 6,000 as the real number. One difficulty to be experienced in their enumeration is that at any season of the year a village of permanent houses, evidently the abode of hundreds of Indians, may be found without a single inhabitant, not because it has been deserted, but because the inhabitants are gone temporarily, leaving no information as to where they have gone, for what purpose, or for how long a time, and it would be impracticable to wait until their return or to follow them.

The only available method for obtaining even an approximate estimate of the number of these Indians seemed to be to ascertain, as far as practicable, the number of their villages and the aggregate number of houses contained in them. Multiplying the total number of houses by the average number of inmates per house would give a reasonable result. By actually counting the inmates of many houses in several villages, and with the indorsement of the judgment of the enumerator, 5 was adopted as the average number of inmates per house. As not less than 4 nor more than 11 were found in any given case, it was decided that 5 would be a conservative average and insure a total within the actual number rather than in excess of it.

126 In the accompanying map, showing the route during a 10 days' trip through the Papago country, Pima county is
161 given on a scale of 7.5 inches to the mile. The villages are located from actual visitation or on information, with no effort at mathematical accuracy, but with the design of suggesting relations and distances. The trip was planned so as to reach as many villages as possible during the time allowed and to make a fair and correct census. The villages given in red are those actually visited, 5 of which were located by the Indians. The 2 villages marked with black, situated near the large ranch, were located, but omitted by mistake. The accompanying figures indicate the number of houses in each village. The villages given in black were located through the courtesy of
[115] a trader among the Papagos, who is generally conceded to be the best informed person in Arizona in everything which relates to the tribe. The figures in black indicate his estimate of the population of each village. His estimate of the numbers living in the villages actually visited in enumerating varied only about 25, more or less, from the numbers in the given villages obtained by the multiplication of the number of houses by 5. In the cases mentioned the population was from 350 to 500, and such close agreement gave additional credibility to both his and our estimate.

161 The number of resident Indians at San Xavier was ascertained exactly when the reservation was divided among them in severalty, and is perfectly reliable.

Papagos at San Xavier	363
Papagos on line of expedition:	
467 houses, multiplied by 5	2,335
Additional, estimated by I. D. Smith	2,465
	5,063
Additional, reported by C. W. Crouse, agent at Sacaton (Papagos on the old reservation at Gila Bend)	40
Resident at Sacaton reservation	60
Total	5,163